1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

TABLE 2. CAUSES OF DEATH IN GREECE, 1950, BY NUMBER AND RATE

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Cause of death	Number	Death rate (per 1000 people)
Heart disease	3270	.427
Cancer	2730	.358
Cerebral hemorrhage	2679	.352
Tuberculosis (respiratory)	2214	.293
Senility	1954	.258
Pneumonia	1523	.201
Nephritis	1284	.168
Violent accidents	1259	.165
Causes unknown	1166	.154
Congenital debility	998	.132
Diarrhea, enteritis	973	.128
Other tuberculosis	634	.083
Other diseases of digestive system	629	.082
Other infectious diseases	621	.081
Diseases of the liver	511	.067

Source: Mutual Security Agency Mission to Greece, *Medical and Sanitary Data on Greece* (Athens, 1952), p. 62 (mimeographed).

diseases which give the health authorities most cause for concern are tuberculosis, dysentery, typhoid and paratyphoid, venereal diseases, smallpox, various intestinal parasites, and particularly infectious hepatitis.

Of these causes of death, tuberculosis creates the greatest problem for those interested in preventive medicine, for it is commonly recognized that the reported death rate, 29.3 per 100,000 people, is probably less than half of the true figures. Greek peasants can therefore take small comfort in the fact that tuberculosis death rates in the urban areas are more than twice as high as those for rural districts, since this still means relatively high rates in the villages. Although the government is attacking tuberculosis with considerable vigor, the public response is only half-hearted. One of the first jobs of the UNRRA–World Health Organization mission after the war was to try to persuade the tuberculous to recognize their illness, to take treatment, and to realize that it was no disgrace to be ill.

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However, in most families it is still considered a shame to have the disease, so much so that cases are hidden and doctors are even paid for not reporting cases to the public-health authorities. Although undernourishment is frequently associated with the high incidence of the disease, in Greece malaria has been a contributory cause by undermining resistance to the tuberculosis bacillus.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

Where tuberculosis presents a dark picture, the reduction of malaria is a story of great progress. Prior to World War II, the annual rate of malaria among the civilian population was estimated at one million to two million cases, or from 15 to 30 percent of all of the people. The heaviest incidence came in the years of very heavy rainfall, sometimes reaching three million cases. One indication of the magnitude of the problem before 1946 was the annual expenditure by Greece of $1 million just for quinine, found in almost all village stores. From 1946 to 1950, according to an official report, an average of 5,000 villages were residually treated with DDT and an average of 900,000 acres of potential breeding places such as lakes and swamp land were sprayed each year, the latter operation requiring an average of ten airplanes per season. Now the once-dreaded disease of malaria is no longer a major public-health problem in Greece, a result achieved at the equivalent sum of $7.6 million during the 1946–51 period.

Hygienic improvement depends just as much upon attitude change as it does upon the installation of proper facilities. And favorable attitudes are developing. Whenever the matter was brought up in discussion at the coffeehouses or elsewhere, the local village dignitaries would tell of the project they had formulated and submitted to the *nomos* (prefecture) authorities, in which they applied for funds to better their situation. In Arachova, on the way to Delphi, the project dealt with improving the water supply; the same held true for Vouno in the Arcadian part of the Peloponnesos, Karpenesi in Eurytania, Konstantinia near Kavalla, Myrodation in Thrace, and on to a list of communities too lengthy to include. Other communities give priority to the construction of community latrines, school baths, or a general sanitation program.

The Village House

As a convenient starting point for typing the village houses, one can associate the stone house with the mountain village, the mud-walled house with the plains village, and the white, squarish house with the islands. Each is well adapted to the resources at hand, and each has its own historical development.[11] Many of the island homes with their thick walls took on a fortress character as a defense against pirates who, for many years, plagued this part of the world. Furthermore, the thick walls have been necessary in the mountain areas where the only possible defense lay in the hands of the villagers themselves. As already noted, down on the plain, particularly in Turkish times, the farms were for the most part estates of Turkish beys, and the villagers were little more than serfs dependent upon the bey for protection. He was not concerned about their shelter and they had less incentive to go to the trouble of building the more durable stone houses, even if there had been building stone at hand.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

tions to their homeland. Enough time had passed to enable many of them to assess the impact of their encounter with Greek national life, for numerous changes had followed their arrival.

Their resettlement had, in the first place, brought about a national unity not heretofore possible, since Turks and Bulgarians had left Greece (with the exception of the Turks in western Thrace who were permitted to remain because Greeks were allowed to stay in Istanbul), and the Greeks from Asia Minor were now collected in metropolitan Greece. With the exception of Cyprus and perhaps northern Epirus, there was now little ground for irredentism, which has so consistently plagued each of the Balkan states since their creation as independent political units.

A second effect of the refugees' arrival was the improvement of agriculture, especially in Northern Greece, where the refugees chiefly settled, as well as in Crete, where they improved the vineyards. Because they had been uprooted, the newcomers were much more ready to adopt modern farming methods, to use fertilizer and improved seed. They even introduced new crops to the mainland of Greece. This readiness for change at times contrasted sharply with the more apathetic and conservative native villagers.

The refugees, in the third place, helped create a public health service. Many of them settled in the marshy deltas of the rivers emptying into the Aegean Sea, where malaria — to which they had developed no immunity in Asia Minor — wiped out whole villages. Being desperate, they cooperated to the fullest with authorities who were draining the swamps and inaugurating malaria-control measures.

Even more important was the refugees' role in creating new industries, such as rug weaving, especially in urban centers. They brought in skills, including entrepreneurial ability; even the untrained represented a willing labor pool. They had to rely on their wit and skill to survive in this new environment. The same held true for the fishing industry, which at best was at a primitive level in Greece before the coming of the refugees.

One nomarch, long-familiar with the refugee problem, summarized his observations as follows:

> At the time of their coming, we looked upon these refugees as a terrible burden. But they did bring a creative and civilized element. Here in Macedonia, the refugees are a progressive element: in industry, commerce, and agriculture. They are progressive because they have had so many hardships that they are like iron which has gone through fire and become more malleable. Most of the refugees think they have a better life here than they had in their former homes.

This cataclysmic event, resulting from the disastrous Asia Minor campaign by the Greeks, brought not only a large population increase; it also introduced a social transfusion which all observers agree led to a more progressive spirit in Greece.

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1
Paleo Corinthos

[Villages of the Plains]

face life on a smaller piece of land; but this problem does not seem especially acute to the larger farmers. An interesting indicator of this fact is that in 1956 only thirty boys from the village attended the gymnasium in New Corinth close by – a smaller number than Nea Eleftherohori was sending to a considerably more distant school, though the population of Old Corinth is nearly three times as great as that of the Macedonian village. As a matter of fact, the recent increases in the yield from Old Corinth's land have been so great that a new family can face life with equanimity, even owning only half as much land as their parents possessed.

For the landless segment of the population, and for those who own only a tiny plot insufficient to maintain a family anyway, the problem is quite different. Here the major consideration is not land but wages; and as long as there is work, and wages are comparatively good, the new generation can start off with little or nothing but a strong back and willing hands, and hope to make out about as well as their fathers have done. For them also, there is no overwhelming pressure to postpone marriage in order to keep up a standard of living.

As a result, the population statistics of Old Corinth do not show nearly so drastic a change from the prewar years as is evident in Nea Eleftherohori. Yet the birth rate has dropped in Old Corinth also. In the 1930's (when the population of the village was, of course, a good deal smaller) recorded births ranged between 58 and 46 each year. Since 1947 the range has been from 46 to 33. This change, however, has been nearly offset by a parallel drop in the death rate. Before the war, deaths averaged close to 30 each year; since 1947 the average has been a little over 12. The drop has mainly been due to the elimination of malaria through DDT; whereas Old Corinth was formerly one of the many places in Greece badly afflicted by that disease, there was no malaria in 1956.

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1
Kardamili

[Hill Villages]

were enrolled in the village primary school because boys from neighboring villages were in attendance. Within Kardamili, I was told, almost every boy goes through the first two years of gymnasium. Even without the final two years in Kalamata there is a chance, though not a good one, of finding a clerical job somewhere outside.

The other aspect of the adjustment characteristic of Nea Eleftherohori – postponement of marriage through the dowry system – is less advanced in Kardamili, but seems to be coming in. Dowries are rising, I was told, and even a man who owns no land himself may now ask a wife to bring him 2,000 okes of olive oil – the equivalent of several hundred dollars. This is a far cry from the huge sums expected in Nea Eleftherohori by a young man who is to inherit land; but what is significant is that before the war such demands were not being made in Kardamili. In those days a landless man would expect no more than a nominal dowry.

Village statistics did not show very convincingly any decrease in the birth rate, however. The decrease in numbers born no more than corresponded to the decline in the village population. Moreover, the decrease in deaths was more rapid than any change in the number of births – owing, mainly, to the elimination of malaria – so that the rate of natural increase of the population had actually risen between 1947 and 1956. So far, it would appear, the villagers have not felt it necessary to change their family customs very profoundly. Migration, facilitated by education, has sufficed to relieve intolerable conditions. The more drastic step of postponing marriage has not become generally necessary.

In poor villages deeper into Mani, these processes have gone much further. In one that I visited only briefly, Yerolimini, I was told that "no" young men are left in the village: all have gone to seek their fortunes in Piraeus, where this village has

7:Friedl E-5 (1955-1956)1958
EH1 Greece EH1
Boeotia

along three of the walls of the room. On each of the beds, fitted with her own bed linens in the typically varied colors of the Greek village, lies a woman patient.[8] Two are older women wearing their brown kerchiefs and dressed in their own pink flannel nightgowns. The third is a young woman without a kerchief, but lying on the bed fully dressed. It is not possible to move beyond the door because the entire center floor space is covered with a blanket, around the edges of which five relatives of one of the patients are sitting, just finishing a meal which they have been eating picnic-style. The remnants of bread, wine, and cheese are quickly gathered up as the relatives make way for the new visitors and apologize for taking up so much space. The husband of the young woman is warming some macaroni over a small kerosene burner on a tiny table near her bed. When the food is warm enough he serves it to his wife. The daughter and the husband of the third patient are standing near her bed watching the goings-on. The daughter coughs violently. It is midwinter, and she has a cold aggravated by sleeping on a pallet on the floor of her mother's hospital room. A nurse comes in to leave an ice-bag. The daughter helps her mother to adjust it.

If we were in a maternity hospital, the scene would be much the same, except that several infants would be sleeping in wooden cradles in the rooms with their mothers. If cradles had not been brought from home, the infants would be lying in the beds with their mothers. A female relative of the mother will have been present during the birth of the baby. She will have held the mother's hand, sponged her off during the worst of the pains (no anaesthetic is used), and will have comforted her with soothing words.

These hospital scenes and the patterns of hospital care they represent suggest a remarkable similarity between the treatment of illness at home and its treatment in a hospital. The same values and attitudes of Greek culture are demonstrated in both situations, and their reinforcement in a time of stress is not impeded by hospitalization.

Influence of Greek Culture

Greek villagers take great pride in showing-off household possessions. Bed-linens and coverings are of special importance, because they are a part of the dowry which the woman of the household provided at marriage, and she probably wove them herself. Sleeping on bedclothes from home, therefore, not only lessens the unfamiliarity of the hospital surroundings, but also may give the patient and his family a chance to show off the handiwork of the women.

Let us now turn to the crowded conditions of the hospital room. Human companionship is believed by the Greek villagers to be an absolute good. Solitude is considered very unpleasant and is avoided even when people are perfectly well. When someone is in the vulnerable state of illness, it is especially important that he not be left alone. In the hospitals the members of the patient's family take turns staying with him, and neighbors who happen to be in town come and visit. Some of the hospitals, to be sure, provide a special room in

8. A DDT campaign after the Second World War successfully eliminated vermin from the Greek countryside. There is, therefore, little danger that the bedding from home will bring vermin into the hospital.

[P25(B)]

/40 cont./

Vacation and Travel. There is no accepted idea of vacation. Vacation is only for the school children but during the end of harvest season when the farmer /41/ has money he takes his family to the city or to the international fair of Salonica. The men at such leisure times spend their weekends with their friends and relatives in remote villages. The cost of travel makes it hard for most, but their beast of burden, the donkey, serves as a means for this purpose. There is no one in the village who has not traveled in the two continents of Europe and Asia. Some of them have been to Germany, Hungary, Austria, Russia, and Turkey as prisoners in the First War. Some others due to deportation from one country to another, had an unbearable type of travelling. The Government railroads during holidays and early in the fall reduce the cost of train tickets by 50% and thus make it easier for many to travel.

One of the average farmers, with a family of four, spent for the year Drs. 1211 ($7.50) for travel. This sum covers 800 kilometers. The above shows the extensive travelling the men do mostly for business. It is during this travelling period that the farmer brings in and takes out from his village new seeds, new improved methods of cultivation and new customs and forms of community interests.

Protection of Health and Care of the Aged. If there is anything which is neglected in Megali Vrisi it is the /42/ health of the people. In spite of the medical center and the Near East Foundation Children's Nursery Center, where a health project was started, the extent of malaria, tuberculosis, pneumonia and intestinal diseases was just as great as before these agents came in. In fact in one of my surveys with which I tried to find out the death rate of young children from 3 months to 4 years old, four years before the Near East Foundation established itself and five years after its work, the figures of death rate to my surprise were amazingly larger than before, in spite of the Near East Foundation's efforts. After my eight years of experience with the farmers I was convinced of the inadequacy of the existing health program which was

/42 cont./
to fight the disease after it appeared rather than to cure the source of the disease.

The main causes for the death of children were the irregular feeding, intestinal diseases, malaria, lack of nutritive food and long hours of work of the parents that caused them to neglect their children.

Due to the cost of medicine the people called the doctor only when it is too late for him to do anything. "It was the will of God to give and take." This is the usual answer that one would hear. The cost of medical bills range from $12 to $35, even though the local doctor is free of charge.

/43/ The care of the aged rests solely on their sons. According to tradition the aged are the head of the family until they die and due care and respect should be paid to them so as to get their blessings before their death. The aged who are unable to do any kind of work are cared by their closest relatives. It is a part of their religious duties to respect and care for the aged.

PART III.

Earning of Living. The farming is a subsistence type of farming. The people barely make their living and on lean years they have to borrow heavily from the Agricultural Bank or from the local city merchants. The following inventory which was taken from a representative farmer shows more or less the farm enterprise.

Inventory at the beginning of the year.

176 drachmas = $1 1 Oke = 2.82 pounds.

A. Condition of the family.
Members of the family 4 - 2 females and 2 males.
Members below 14 years of age 1, above sixty none.

/68 cont./ reward. Whenever there is a tooth-ache, whether the tooth is good or bad, the remedy is to pull it out. Often the patient is tied up against a tree and three or four people hold him while the practical dentist ties a string around the tooth and pulls it out. /69/ Often the string breaks before the tooth is out.

It has become a custom to wash the hands and mouth after a meal. It is the raw vegetables, the hard-baked bread and the ignorance of the tooth paste and toothbrush that keep their teeth healthy and strong.

Sanitary privies. The sanitary privy is one of the urgent necessities of the family, but one seldom comes across it in any village. Megali Vrisi, having had the privilege of having a doctor and a nurse, started building new sanitary privies. Many farmers still use the old method of fencing a corner and placing two large stones for the people to stand on. No ditch whatsoever is prepared for this. Fortunately, the climate is dry and everything evaporates and dries. One of the causes for extensive intestinal diseases among the young was due to these old-fashioned privies. People are learning, more and more, the source of house flies and the breeding sources of diseases among their children. Even the present privies are not so safe, but have reduced the troubles considerably.

People who still cannot believe that diseases are caused by micro-organisms, do not fully appreciate the means to combat them.

/70/ Health in relation to housing. As mentioned in the previous paragraphs, the houses were built by the farmers at a time of great necessity and there was no time to think about the sanitary side of the house. The farmers wanted a shelter for their families and thus built a square, one-room house with as few windows as possible, and with a small door to cut down the cost. Living conditions under such circumstances were naturally very unhealthy, since the whole family had to keep everything in the same room and have a family of five sleep in the same bed.

losis in the provinces as compared to the cities, and Greeks interviewed gave as their opinion that this was true of the health picture generally.

Doctors are very highly respected. There have been women doctors in Greece, as well as women dentists, for many years; but the village image of the doctor is one of a man. However, a woman is much freer to discuss gynecological difficulties with a woman physician. There is great reluctance to mention the genital areas, and many women do not even know the appropriate terms to use. The acceptance of the *metrica*, the maternity difficulties, may be partly due to the reluctance to have this general area exposed and examined.

The handicapped are not easily accepted in Greece. To be crippled, blind, lame, means that one is not quite a person. Children might even jeer at the handicapped without being reprimanded. Amputation is therefore a terrible calamity, because it makes a person incomplete. Such a person cannot be accorded the respect that goes with the ability to assume responsibility. Parents may discourage their daughter from marrying a one-armed man whom they otherwise like in every respect, and who is perfectly capable of making a good living. Such people are assumed to be dependent. Greeks were bewildered by an UNRRA one-armed worker. Not only was he in the wrong function, but he could not fall into any known pattern of relationship, since he insisted on being physically self-sufficient. Since he would not accept help, the Greeks were uncomfortable with him, not knowing how to treat him.

Malaria, the great scourge which increased tuberculosis through lowering resistance, and which decreased production by sapping the energy, is now almost completely defeated by the spectacular DDT campaign. In the beginning of the campaign, the specialists, unaware of the peasants' love of sleeping in their orchards on hot summer nights, sprayed only the interiors of houses; when breeding grounds were also attacked, however, the campaign was totally effective, and has been of inestimable value for the introduction of further changes, since it won the confidence of the people.

Traditionally, there is no connexion between hygienic measures and health. Cleanliness is part of being well-ordered and well-groomed, not a matter of removing germs. And cleanliness is patterned. There is a day for scrubbing the kitchen floor, for changing sheets, for changing underwear, for going to the bath; there is a time for washing the face and the hands. There were never many latrines in rural areas and the situation has been aggravated through the war; in 1948, it was reported that 98 per cent of the farmers had no latrines.

NUTRITION

The Greek meal is a family ritual. It is a social occasion, a communion of the family, which does not have to be enhanced by special

abstract calculation, is meaningless to people for whom experience is body-patterned. More than this, such plans represent external limits and directives, and to this extent are hampering and even frightening. Charts and diagrams are now common in Greek books, but the lineal diagram as a blueprint of action is not within the framework of Greek life; the nearest most Greeks come to a diagram is a map, which is diagrammatic of something concrete. Foresight is good, and is extolled in proverbs; preparation is always present. But this is following along a known trail, repeating a known pattern with all its steps. For example, when a girl is 10 or 12, she may start working on her dowry; a good mother may start weaving for her daughter soon after birth. But this is to follow the Greek pattern of life, to behave as girls and mothers are supposed to behave. In the same way, a farmer has foresight according to occasions he expects to arise within a known situation. The planning is internal, arising from the rhythm of life; it is not something external to which the rhythm must be forced to conform.

This attitude presents difficulties, such as, for example, in industrialization in the area of food processing. Greek farmers will not deliver food for canning according to plan or schedule; they will use what they need and deliver the surplus. But factories and exporting houses cannot readily function without supported expectations.

Again, Greeks are motivated by demonstrated, concrete results, not by diagrams of future benefits, or by statistics. The great success of the DDT programme was due to its quick, clear, obvious results. Much of the success of new practices initiated under the auspices of the Near East Foundation may also be attributed to their principle of demonstration.

Another attitude concerned with the introduction of change is that of coping with what is there. Americans are ready to change anything that does not measure up to specifications, or even anything that can be exchanged for something more efficient, more convenient, newer. Greeks accustom themselves to inconveniences and cope with them; they do not do away with them. Greeks, after a visit to the United States, see their countrymen putting up with the same difficulties, the same time-wasting operations, the same discomforts, but when they ask: "Why don't you do something about it?" they are immediately branded American. Anything that still works can always be patched up and used; a chipped dish can still hold food, a suit may have a few spots and still be clean, a woman may have a number of ills and still have health, and people can still travel when the steamships are crowded three times their capacity, and cannot provide the beds for which the passengers have paid; why make a change? As there is no superlative, so there are not exclusive oppositives, and one learns to cope with the common ailments, the common inconveniences. So the man whose task it is to introduce change often has to point